DOCUMENT RESUME

ED 423 335 UD 032 537

AUTHOR	Brisk, Maria Estela
TITLE	The Multicultural Middle College High School: An Attempt at Creating an Innovative Bilingual High School.
INSTITUTION	Brown Univ., Providence, RI. Education Alliance for Equity in the Nation's Schools.; New England Desegregation Assistance Center, Providence, RI.
SPONS AGENCY	Department of Education, Washington, DC.
PUB DATE	1996-00-00
NOTE	44p.
CONTRACT	DED#S004D3006
PUB TYPE	Reports - Evaluative (142)
EDRS PRICE	MF01/PC02 Plus Postage.
DESCRIPTORS	*Bilingual Education; Bilingual Students; Cultural Awareness; *Educational Environment; Evaluation Methods; High School Students; *High Schools; Instructional Effectiveness; Multicultural Education; *Nontraditional Education; Program Evaluation; Research Methodology; Staff Development; Urban Schools; Urban Youth

ABSTRACT

Research on bilingual education has suggested three areas as critical for quality bilingual education: (1) school climate and organization; (2) curriculum content and delivery; and (3) instructional strategies. These three areas form a framework that was used to evaluate the Multicultural Middle College High School (MMCHS), an alternative bilingual high school created by a group of teachers from the Boston (Massachusetts) public schools. An analysis of school organization, curriculum, staff, classroom instruction, student population, and home-school relationships shows how the school succeeds in providing quality bilingual education. The MMCHS opened in 1993 with 82 bilingual and mainstream students, 4 bilingual teachers, and 1 special education teacher as an outgrowth of a "school within a school" program for bilingual and mainstream students that had operated in a high school since 1990. The program was housed in a community college, but was the satellite of a high school. Because the conditions of a quality bilingual education focus on characteristics of the different components of a program, it provides a thorough but flexible model of evaluation. Had the MMCHS been evaluated with the simple criteria of language instruction or adherence to an established model of bilingual education, it would not have been evaluated as favorably. Using the scrutiny of the conditions, which adds an extensive focus on characteristics of good education, the results were more positive. There was a strong basis of quality education in the program, which could be transformed into quality bilingual education by implementing the recommendations from the evaluation. These included the fostering of more positive attitudes towards the cultures and native languages of the bilingual students (mostly, but not exclusively Spanish speaking), fostering positive attitudes toward U. S. culture, suggestions for increased parent participation, and specific suggestions for the improvement of curriculum and instructional strategies. (Contains 2 tables and 53 references.) (SLD)

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The Multicultural Middle College High School

An Attempt at Creating an Innovative Bilingual High School

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A publication of the Education Alliance Press and the New England Desegregation Assistance Center

Brown University

Maria Estela Brisk is a long-time faculty member at Boston University's School of Education. A native of Argentina, fluent in several languages, she earned a Master's Degree in applied Linguistics at Georgetown University and was recruited by Dr. Bernard Spolsky to pursue the Ph.D. in linguistics and bilingual education at the University of New Mexico.

Dr. Brisk taught languages and linguistics at Inter-American University in Puerto Rico, spent a year at the Center for Applied Linguistics, and instituted teacher-training and doctoral programs in bilingual education at Boston University more than 20 years ago. *The Multicultural Middle College High School: An Attempt at Creating and Innovative Bilingual High School* features conditions for quality bilingual education, conditions to which Dr. Brisk aspires for all bilingual students.

This publication is published by the New England Desegregation Assistance Center for Equity in Education, a program of the Educational Alliance at Brown University. NEDAC is funded by the U.S. Department of Education (DED #S004D3006). Opinions expressed are those of the author and do not necessarily reflect the policy of the funders.

Printed in the U.S.A.

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Preface

The New England Desegregation Assistance Center is pleased as a program of the Education Alliance for Equity and Excellence in the Nation's Schools at Brown University to publish through the Education Alliance Press, Maria Estela Brisk's: *The Multicultural Middle College High School: An Attempt at Creating an Innovative Bilingual High School.*

Maria Brisk is known nationally for her continuing contributions to bilingual Education and dedication to guarantee quality education for all bilingual students. Currently, she serves as a member of the Executive Board of the National Association of Bilingual Education as Eastern Regional Representative.

As bilingual education continues its struggle for survival in a tumultuous educational environment, it is comforting to know that extraordinarily competent leaders, such as Maria Estela Brisk, continue the intellectual progress that manifests new ideas, improved curriculum and cutting edge strategies that has sustained bilingual education over the past three decades.

John R. Correiro
Director
New England Desegregation Assistance Center
Brown University

Acknowledgments

This project would not have been possible without the full cooperation of the staff and students at the high school. I would also like to thank my graduate students, Kerry Altman, Maria Coady, and Amal Bou-Zeneddine, for their assistance in collecting the data.

Bilingual education has been at the center of much political debate since federal legislation was passed in 1968. Opponents of bilingual education believe that time spent in non-English classes retards the students' acquisition of English. For such opponents, teaching English should be the main goal of the education of bilingual students. Proponents insist that using the students' native languages improves the acquisition of English and the students' adjustment to school. The obsessive focus on English language development has forced the discourse, policy, and research on bilingual education to be limited to the comparison of models. The central question has been which model, be it transitional, two-way, structured immersion, English as a second language or others, does a better job in teaching English (Zappert & Cruz, 1977; Rossell & Ross, 1986; Willig, 1985). Little attention has been paid to either overall academic performance of students -- in any language -- or the quality of the education afforded to these students. Politically motivated research that attempts to promote or denounce bilingual education is of little use to schools that need to know how they should be delivering education to give all students an equal chance to succeed.

Despite political biases affecting a certain amount of prior research, sufficient basic research and program evaluations have been conducted to suggest some of the ingredients for a good bilingual education program. Research on bilingualism and second language acquisition (Spolsky, 1989), literacy development and academic achievement (Cummins, 1991; Hudelson, 1984), and advantages of bilingualism (Hakuta & Diaz, 1985; Valdesolo, 1983; Peal & Lambert, 1962; Dawe, 1983) generally support using native languages for instruction and promoting high levels of proficiency in both languages.

Language development is a necessary but not sufficient ingredient for the school success of bilingual students. Many researchers maintain that students' culture and experience are the foundation for their education. These researchers believe that the best way to induce students to enjoy learning and school is to initiate them to academic life through the use of strategies that are congruent with their culture (Saravia-Shore & Arvizu, 1992).

Bilingualism and cross-cultural education by themselves do not guarantee academic success for bilingual learners. The effective school movement (Purkey & Smith, 1983) identified the characteristics of effective schools and demonstrated that such schools can make a difference in students' achievement. Factors such as school climate, leadership, curriculum, instructional strategies, and students' expectations are considered key elements of good schools. Inspired by the effective school movement, researchers have begun to study in more depth the nature of the implementation of bilingual education, looking for characteristics of bilingual programs which are considered effective (Mace-Matluck, 1990; Lucas, Henze & Donato, 1990; Garcia, 1991).

Therefore, quality bilingual education lies at the intersection of bilingual-

ism, cross-cultural education, and effective schools. All of these elements together create the foundation for quality bilingual education. Like a tripod it will tumble if any one of its legs is missing.

Conditions for Quality Bilingual Education

Certain conditions for successful bilingual education emerge from both research on bilingualism, cross-cultural education, and effective schools, as well as from empirical research on bilingual education programs (Brisk, 1992; Brisk & DeJong, 1994). These conditions for quality bilingual education have been grouped into three major areas: (1) school climate and organization, (2) curriculum content and delivery, and (3) instructional strategies. All three areas are equally important and interdependent in promoting good education.

School Climate and Organization

Schools should develop a safe environment for learning that respects the bilingual students, their teachers, and their families. The academic, linguistic and cultural needs of bilingual students should be part of the educational agenda of the whole school rather than the exclusive responsibility of the bilingual program. To reach these goals:

- The school should foster positive attitudes towards the native languages and cultures of the bilingual students.
- The school should help bilingual students develop a positive attitude towards English and the American culture.
- All staff should know the bilingual students.
- All staff should have high expectations of the bilingual students.
- All staff should have the preparation to teach bilingual students.
- The school administration and staff should provide leadership and support for the bilingual program and staff.
- The bilingual program should be an integral part of the school.
- The school should foster a productive relationship with the parents and communities of the bilingual students.

Schools should view bilingualism as a resource, not a problem and should recognize and incorporate cultural differences among students for the purpose of creating a global curriculum instead of attempting to minimize these differences. An essential characteristic in all good education is for the staff to really know their students, expect good performance regardless of their proficiency in English, and use teaching strategies appropriate for bilingual learners. Key to the understanding and implementation of these principles are leaders who are supportive.

Schools that fulfill the above features have promoted "the success of language-minority students in school and beyond" (Lucas, Henze & Donato, 1990, p. 336).

Curriculum Content and Delivery

Schools should prepare clear goals for instruction that consider the role of language and culture in the academic development of students. Students in the bilingual program must have access to offerings in all content areas. They should participate in innovative practices and programs brought in by the school, and share in extracurricular activities. In curriculum planning the following should be considered:

- All students should participate in a comprehensive and quality curriculum.
- The curriculum should be cross-cultural.
- The curriculum should be bilingual. Thus,
  - literacy in native languages should be fully developed
  - native languages should be used for teaching academic content.
  - second language should be taught in the context of language, literacy and content areas.
  - native languages should be used for an extended number of years.

Programs have adapted a variety of strategies to offer a complete bilingual and cross-cultural curriculum. A cross-cultural curriculum includes the incorporation of not only the students' culture (Moll, 1988) but also the American culture. Teachers cannot assume that bilingual students know or understand their new culture. One approach proposed by Zanger (1993) has bilingual high school students acting as cultural anthropologists. They learn the American culture by interviewing their American peers and analyzing their findings.

There are three main issues with respect to the use of the two languages in the curriculum: (a) what to teach in which language; (b) when to introduce the second language and for how long to use L1; and (c) whether both languages can be used in the same class. Factors including the age of the students, their educational background, and native language literacy, as well as the availability of appropriate personnel and materials have determined how programs have addressed the use of languages for instruction. Paramount, however, is the notion that the introduction of English should not come at the expense of the native language (Holm & Holm, 1990).

Instructional Strategies

Schools should use innovative and updated methodologies mindful of the principles of language learning, and the role of language and culture in classroom communication. Good bilingual instruction means that:

- Both languages should be taught with appropriate language teaching techniques.
- Content area subjects should be taught with appropriate teaching techniques.
- The teachers' instructional strategies, management style, and classroom organization should be cross-cultural.

Approaches to teaching language and literacy either in the first or second language are constantly evolving. The latest research encourages using language in meaningful situations, allowing students to practice the language without fear of making errors, using interactive methodologies, exposing students to a great deal of language both oral and written, and encouraging peer interaction in heterogeneous groups (García, 1991; Wong Fillmore, 1989; Brisk, 1991). There is variation, however, in the choice of classroom strategies depending on the ethnic/cultural group. For example, Wong Fillmore, Ammon, McLaughlin & Ammon (1985) found that cooperative learning strategies were highly effective with Hispanic students, but that Chinese students achieved more when the interaction was with the teacher rather than with classmates. Similarly, research with Navajo students showed that the cooperative groups worked better when they were single sex because the Navajo culture discourages boys and girls from working together (Vogt, Jordan & Tharp, 1987).

It takes a long time to acquire the degree of English proficiency necessary to function effectively in academic disciplines (Collier,1989). Bilingual students will most likely start learning subject matter in English before they have fully developed the language. Therefore, while teachers must use strategies to make the content of the lessons accessible to these students, it should remain academically demanding and appropriate to the students' grade-level.

In addition to language, the role of culture in classroom communication should be considered in instructional strategies. Teachers who use cross-cultural ways of communicating, managing students, and organizing their classrooms are more successful in having students complete the work, behave, and like school. Special verbal and non-verbal instructions, strategies for communicating knowledge, different arrangements for classroom set-up, and procedures for assigning responsibilities, can contribute to the creation of a familiar context within the American classroom. The goal is not simply to use the traditional ways from the students' culture; "they must be integrated with new ways and used with new content (Holm & Holm, 1990, p. 179)." Cross-cultural classroom environments

have helped students adjust to school, and learn to function within American cultural norms.

This framework of the conditions for quality bilingual education was tested as a tool to evaluate the Multicultural Middle College High School (MMCHS) an alternative bilingual high school created by a group of teachers from the Boston Public Schools. An analysis of the school organization, curriculum, staff, classroom instruction, student population and home-school relationships allowed me to establish the degree to which the program met these conditions. Recommendations were proposed that would help the program meet the goal of quality bilingual education.

Background of the Program

The MMCHS opened in September, 1993 at Roxbury Community College (RCC). This program is the off-spring of a "school within a school" program for bilingual and mainstream students which had operated at English High School (EHS) since 1990. When this program folded, some of the teachers involved pursued the idea of an alternative program for the bilingual students. These teachers were motivated by a number of problems that affected the bilingual students in particular at EHS. These problems related to the students, the curriculum and the overall school climate. Sparked by the success of high schools within community colleges, the planners began exploring such a possibility. The planning team of teachers worked for a year prior to the opening of the program, negotiating approvals from administrators at RCC and the Boston Public Schools (BPS); researching and visiting alternative high school models; designing the curriculum; working with the Coalition of Essential Schools as a planning member, and seeking cooperation from local institutions of higher education. The program was supposed to start with six teachers and 100 students. Because of the number of bilingual students remaining at EHS, the headmaster decided that one of the bilingual teachers had to stay at EHS. With only five teachers, the maximum number of students to be recruited for MMCHS was reduced to 80. The city's Bilingual Department opposed the program for a number of reasons. They felt that it had not followed proper procedures for approval; moving the program from EHS to RCC reduced the number of bilingual teachers at EHS, and the program violated some of the requirements of the bilingual education plan approved by the school committee.

The program opened September 13, 1993 with 82 bilingual and mainstream students. The majority of the bilingual students were Spanish-speakers, but there were also a number of African students and a few Haitians. Four bilingual teachers and one special education teacher joined the staff. The following mission statement guided the program:

The Multicultural Middle College High School is a "global village" that recognizes the ability to speak several languages and understands several cultures as an asset to our society. We will offer an educational curriculum which is reflective of the cultural diversity of our student population. We will create and develop an alternative learning environment at an urban community college where students will realize their full academic and social potential (MMCHS Proposal, 1993, p.1).

Methodology

The evaluation of MMCHS was a collaborative effort between the Boston University (BU) team and the teachers and students at MMCHS. The idea of the evaluation was introduced to the whole school community during a town meeting where students and teachers had the opportunity to ask specific questions about the purpose and logistics of the process. The BU team visited the school a number of times to observe classes, town meetings and advisories; to meet with students and teachers; and to review documents tracing the program history and goals. A checklist of indicators for each condition was developed to assist with the data collection. Among the members of the BU team there were Spanish and Arabic speakers who were able to converse with students in those two languages in addition to English. Students also contributed to the evaluation by filling in a questionnaire specifying proficiency in their various languages, length of residence in the United States, course schedule, and participation in extracurricular activities. Eighty-five percent of the students responded to this questionnaire. The staff met with the BU team during the course of the evaluation to discuss the progress, and at the end to review results and recommendations.

Organization and Setting

Although housed in RCC, the program functioned as a satellite of English High School under the governance of its headmaster. The headmaster acted as a spokesman for the program and provided support when needs arose. The teachers and students were members of EHS; attendance and all other paperwork flowed through EHS. The daily operation of the program was the responsibility of the five teachers: Lisa, Blanca, Claudia, Jean and Anne. During weekly meetings they discussed concerns about the program and students, arrived at solutions, and shared duties. Lisa acted as teacher-in-charge. She dealt most directly with the public school administrators. A work-study student from the college assisted the program with some of the office routine.

The program offered a core of courses and activities. Additional courses, extracurricular activities, and special services were provided by RCC and EHS.

The courses offered by the program were open to all students regardless of grade level and English proficiency, with the exception of second language and math courses. Mostly beginners took English as a Second Language (ESL) and Spanish as a Second Language (SSL). Math students were directed to their appropriate level according to ability and previous math background. No class had more than 20 students. The school day was divided into five 55 minute periods, with a break for lunch after the third period. All classes met for one period, except for Biology, which met for two consecutive periods. Every day, before classes, the whole program met for 30 minutes at the college Auditorium for a "Town Meeting." Different students took turns running these meetings. Programmatic and disciplinary issues of concern were presented and discussed. In addition, attendance was taken, announcements were made, visitors were introduced, and cultural holidays were celebrated. About once a week a speaker addressed the students. These speakers included professionals from the different cultures of the students, the headmaster of EHS, administrators, faculty and students from RCC, and faculty from the different colleges working with the program. On a more informal level, students socialized, caught up with work, asked questions of their teachers, and checked homework with each other. Teachers walked around answering questions on assignments, following up on personal problems, or checking with any student who looked down or worried that day.

Later in the year, student committees were organized to deal with special issues or projects. The African students had difficulty understanding the value of committee meetings. For the most part they refused to participate because it did not give them points towards graduation. Instead, they stayed in the Auditorium studying for tests, socializing, or working with a teacher on a troublesome assignment.

The last period of the day was dedicated to Advisories. Students were divided into four Advisory groups each of which was assigned to one teacher for the whole year. They were divided mainly by ethnic group. Thus, Spanish-speakers with more limited ability in English joined Blanca who conducted the meetings completely in Spanish; African-American students and a few additional seniors joined Jean; African students were members of Anne's advisory; and Claudia had mostly fully bilingual Hispanic students. The teachers felt that since the students were in multicultural groups all day they would enjoy having a time to focus on issues unique to their cultural group. None of the students actually liked this kind of grouping; they preferred the multicultural groups. The initial idea was to have students discussing personal and academic matters without a prescribed curriculum. However, the teachers soon felt that it was too unstructured so each developed a content focus for their Advisory. Problems that arose with students were going to be handled by the teacher who had that student in the Advisory, but it turned out to be more efficient for each teacher to handle prob-

lems as they arose in their classes.

In addition to the classes and activities organized by their MMCHS program, students could also share in the offerings and services of EHS and RCC. At EHS they took classes not offered by the program, they participated in extracurricular activities, and they belonged to various sports teams. Counselors and members from the Student Support Services of EHS visited the program with some regularity. The students had access to the nurse at EHS and tutors from the University of Massachusetts' Talented and Gifted Program who provided additional academic help. MMCHS students were eligible to take courses at the college,and to participate in an afternoon tutoring program offered by college students. The MMCHS student government established some relations with the RCC student government and participated in various activities.

As requested by the Superintendent of Schools, the program established an Advisory Board. Members included two of the MMCHS teachers, the Headmaster of EHS, community members, parents of the students in the school, and representatives from RCC, the Coalition of Essential Schools, another high school in the system, and local colleges. They met twice during the second half of the year to discuss the progress and future of the program.

The program occupied six classrooms and one office in a building dedicated to classrooms and faculty offices for the college. The classrooms were small with movable desks. The wall decorations reflected the theme of the course. There were usually materials in different languages. For example, the Math classroom had a number of poster boards with the math symbols and concepts written in the various languages. The program used the college auditorium for their Town Meetings, a large sunny room for lunch time, and the Faculty Room for faculty meetings. Students had full access to the library and Language Laboratory. Eventually, once it is completed, the gym will also be available. For the first six months, the program teachers had to pick up the students' free lunch at EHS. Eventually, an arrangement was negotiated with RCC for students to have their free breakfast and lunch at the college cafeteria. The College is a short bike or train ride from EHS, so students could easily go over when they wanted to participate in activities at the high school. Easy access to public transportation facilitated commuting to the different institutions in the community that were cooperating with the program.

Curriculum

The curriculum was established during the planning year. The choice of course offerings was based on the requirements for graduation and also on what individual teachers wanted to teach. Claudia, for example, wanted to teach courses "that would bring students together." Thus her World Cultures course had

a focus on Afro-Caribbean culture representing the majority of the cultures in the program, and a Theater course, where production of plays obliged students to work together. There was some collaboration among teachers with respect to curriculum development but lack of time precluded the staff from doing more curriculum planning together. During the summer prior the start of the program, much of their time was spent in the logistics of getting the program approved by the school system, and during the year, staff meetings were taken up with students' issues and administrative duties. The final make-up of the curriculum is shown on Table 1.

DISCIPLINE	COURSE NAME	TEACHER
Mathematics	Consumer Math	*Jean*
	Algebra 1	*Blanca*
	Algebra 2	*Blanca*
	Geometry	*Blanca*
Natural Sciences	Biology	*Claudia*
	Earth Science	*Lisa*
	Science Projects	*Lisa/Blanca*
	Health (Advisory)	*Claudia*
	Health (Advisory)	*Jean*
Humanities	A	*Anne*
	B	*Jean*
	C	*Anne*
	D	*Lisa*
	World Culture	
	African-American History, American Culture, Careers (Advisory)	*Anne*
Language and Literature	Literature	*Jean*
	Theater	*Claudia*
	Spanish as an L2	*Claudia*
	E.S.L. (Levels 1 & 2)	*Anne*
	Spanish for native speakers (Advisory)	*Blanca*
Technology	Computers	*Lisa*

TABLE 1: *Courses Offered at MMCH*

Math offerings followed the same curriculum as EHS with Consumer Math as the most basic level. Other courses had been specially developed for the program. For example, Science Projects included mostly science-fair types of projects. The students chose a topic of interest, researched it, shared with the class their research in progress, and demonstrated experiments. Claudia taught Biology assisted by a Massachusetts Audubon Society instructor and a Harvard graduate student each of whom came to teach once a week. The Audubon Society teacher introduced a topic and assisted students in preparing lessons to teach second graders at a neighboring school. She provided materials for the lessons for the children and also taught the students how to take advantage of the neighborhood as a science laboratory. The graduate student developed, deepened and expanded the concepts introduced by the Audubon Society instructor. Claudia finished the unit by reviewing everything they had learned and helping students who had English language difficulties. The Humanities curriculum was meant to be a combination of Language Arts, Literature, History, Social Studies, Fine Arts, and Performing Arts. Lisa and Anne together developed this curriculum for Humanities which Jean later adopted with some modifications. It included units on schools and education, children's literature, immigration, parts of the curriculum developed by Facing History, and study skills. Jean added to her section some poetry by African-American authors. Jean was supposed to teach a course entitled: Study Skills for Special Education Students. Consistent with the policy of the program, she did not feel comfortable singling out special education students. Therefore she changed the name to Literature and taught reading and writing skills using content from African-American history. She also did some preparation for a standardized reading test required by the public schools.

The curriculum was further enriched by the teachers' decision to focus the Advisories on content. Claudia and Jean taught health, Blanca taught reading and writing in Spanish for native speakers, and Anne did a combination of things which included analyzing American culture, studying African-American history through films, and presenting a Career Orientation curriculum.

The curriculum emphasized content. The only classes that focused on language were ESL and SSL. The school's philosophy supported the notion that students learn a second language by taking content courses in that language. While the content courses did not have explicit language goals, several of the teachers (because of their training in second language teaching) worked on English language naturally while teaching content. Language was developed in a holistic way by offering students opportunities to practice all skills (listening, speaking, reading, and writing) while learning about topics in the content areas. Grammatical and mechanical problems were mostly dealt with as they arose, except for specific teaching in the ESL class.

Great effort was made to include elements of the students' culture in the

curriculum content, either by the theme chosen by the teachers or by allowing students to raise issues related to their lives and backgrounds. Different cultural points of view were brought into the discussion of content. For example, in the Health class students discussed cultural attitudes towards sex. American culture was an important component of the Humanities and ESL courses. The speakers for Town Meetings enriched the multicultural aspect of the program. The African-American teacher felt that not enough was done with respect to African-American culture. This seemed to be due to the fact that there was no specific focus on African-American culture during Black History Month. She felt that most of the emphasis of the program was in the bilingual and foreign students' cultures. Anne, however, included in her Advisory African-American history through film.

Most classes were taught in English. Students, however, were free to use their native languages. When they were in groups, or needed assistance from another student they used their native languages. Spanish-speakers often asked the teachers questions in Spanish. Since four of the teachers spoke Spanish, they often code-switched for clarification, to ask questions of specific students, or to respond to a particular student or group of students. Teachers encouraged other students to respond in their native language when necessary. For example, during a class discussion about the Middle East, an Arabic speaker expressed some key thoughts in Arabic because he did not know the English words. The next day he brought in written English translations of his ideas. During class, students sought clarification in their native languages from each other. One Spanish-speaking student always stayed a few minutes after class to check the homework assignment with the teacher in Spanish and to clarify any doubts about the material covered during the lesson. The students had access to bilingual dictionaries and to a limited number of books in Spanish. The only classes taught in Spanish were Blanca's Advisory and SSL. There were no classes taught in the other native languages.

At MMCHS, students' academic work was evaluated through tests, and portfolios that included: class work, projects, and homework. All tests were administered in English but students were encouraged to respond in their native language. The teachers had the work translated when they could not read the language. The students also wrote some of their term papers in their native language.

There was a difference in opinion on the part of the teachers as to the level of difficulty of the curriculum. Most teachers felt that it was appropriate for high school level although they had to make adjustments because of diversity in age and language ability in each class. The teacher who had had no training or experience in ESL or bilingual education was not satisfied with the level of the curriculum. She complained that she had to water down the material for the bilingual students to the detriment of the native speakers of English.

To cope with the heterogeneous groups, the teachers with bilingual and ESL experience used a variety of strategies while keeping the content at an appro-

priate high school level. The courses were driven by projects that students carried out to the best of their abilities. The teachers focused on key concepts and on developing higher level thinking skills. Books and materials of varying difficulty were provided for students to choose according to their language ability. A cross-age project in the Biology course allowed students first to learn in preparation for teaching the second graders, and only later was the content brought up to high school level. A project around the review of Children's literature allowed students to read less complex language, but required use of higher order level thinking skills and age appropriate language for discussion, critiquing, and reporting.

The lack of materials and resources coupled with their philosophy of exposing students to multiple environments led the teachers to reach out to the community for help. Students in science classes visited the New England Aquarium, the Science Museum, and the laboratories at Massachusetts Institute of Technology to enrich their science experience and obtain help with their projects. Students in Lisa's Computer class traveled weekly to the Computer Museum to learn technology use from mentors, and to the Ecumenical Social Action Group to use their computers. Members of the student government worked with the Hyde Park YMCA on a legislative issues program which concluded with three days at the State House with other Massachusetts high school students.

Students took 5 to 6 courses each term and were guided by the program teachers in their course selection. Students also took courses and participated in a number of extracurricular activities at RCC, EHS, and other local institutions. Some students took French, Physics, and Dance at EHS. Among the courses students attended at RCC were Intermediate Algebra, World History, Writing, and Design. Fifteen students were participating in a program at RCC called New Beginnings. This program offered them tutoring by college students in language, computers, and mathematics. Other students joined an after school pre-engineering tutoring program and a Talented and Gifted tutoring program, both offered at EHS. A couple of students participated in Upward Bound programs at Simmons College and Boston University. One student attended Artist for Humanity, an art studio program for inner-city youngsters. Other after-school activities they joined at EHS were the National Honor Society, the Talent Show, and a variety of sports.

Classroom Organization and Instruction

The following description of a class captures the teaching style of the program:

Eighteen students of African, Spanish and American backgrounds entered the classroom for their Humanities class with Lisa. The central question for the class was: why do people hate each other so much? Is there really an answer for

this? The students had been studying about the Holocaust. They had read about the topic, had seen the movie "Schindler's List," and had listened to a presentation by a survivor of the Holocaust. The teacher started the class with a review of the issues raised by their visitor from the previous session. The discussion moved on to Israel. The teacher showed a map which she said was from 586 B.C. Immediately she asked how long ago that was. An argument ensued between a student who said it was 2,570 years ago and another who said it was 2,580. Lisa showed the class how the process both students used was correct, except the first one had made an addition error. Then, the students were divided into groups to explore one of the following topics: culture, politics, history, and problems in Israel. They rearranged the chairs in four circles and proceeded to discuss their topic. After some time, Lisa asked probing questions of the groups to share their conclusions and findings with the whole class. After the groups had shared, Lisa asked further questions to clarify some points:

> Lisa: Men wear hats? who?
> Sara: Jewish men.
> Lisa: All?
> Sara: No, religious men.
> Lisa: What do you mean by religious?
> Judy: Strict.
> Lisa: Let's think of some examples. Mr. Cohen [a student-teacher] doesn't wear a hat because he isn't strict about his religion. Do you remember Mr. Kline last year?
> Debbie: Mr. Kline is from Cuba. Can he be Jewish?
> Lisa: Can anyone from any nationality be Jewish?
> Whole class: Yes.
> Lisa: Why is this?
> Judy: They move around.

After other issues were clarified, Lisa drew comparisons of the conflicts among people with both the story of Romeo and Juliet, which students had read in another class; and the problems among the local gangs, which the students constantly experience in their neighborhoods.

Their homework assignment required that they write about what they learned and how they felt after hearing the Holocaust survivor.

The organization of the classrooms changed frequently. Sometimes there were whole class discussions or presentation of topics, directed by the teacher or students. Frequently, after introducing a topic, the teacher encouraged the students to work in groups and collaborate. Blanca told her students: "Talk to each other. Your neighbor knows a lot." Students liked group work in particular. They claimed that it helped them understand and clarify concepts as well as develop

their English language skills. The organization of the classroom was limited by the fact that the classrooms were quite small, making it difficult to move desks around.

Teachers introduced and developed topics through a number of creative strategies, such as manipulatives, visuals, role plays, films, field trips, and other helpful methods. As Celeste explained: "You just don't sit here at a desk with a book." Some teachers asked students to keep a journal on what they were learning. Reading these journals helped the teachers realize how much the students were understanding. Students were encouraged to bring their questions and work for scrutiny by the whole class. Students were encouraged to find solutions to problems. It was made clear that there was not only one way to do it. Students opinions were always welcomed, inaccuracies were explored and resolved together. Students never felt foolish asking a question or giving an opinion, because they knew it would be seriously explored. Everything that happened in the class was looked upon as an opportunity for learning.

Teachers used a number of strategies to facilitate comprehension when teaching content in English. New concepts were related to students' previous experience. Teachers often checked for comprehension, recapitulated lessons, and encouraged students to ask for clarification. Through questions and interaction, ideas were explored, elaborated, and clarified. Teachers spoke clearly, ideas were repeated, paraphrased and nonverbal clues abounded. In contrast, those who came to assist from the outside were not as skillful. A substitute teacher did not realize that the word "unheaded," which appeared in the poem they were discussing, was understood as "unheated" by the bilingual students. Therefore, he was unable to clarify the confusion among the students.

Most teachers had trouble covering the material in the 55 minute class time. They often assigned as homework what needed to be completed. This meant that students sometimes had to read or write in relation to something that had not been fully discussed in class. Often students stayed after class to ask the teachers for more directions. Back at home they helped each other through telephone conversations.

Students were frequently praised for their accomplishment by teachers and colleagues. In some cases the teachers accompanied the praise with an explanation of why the particular student had done well. For example commenting on a student's play Claudia said: "So the action is building up. You're getting more and more upset. It is long, but all you say is directly related to the problem at hand. It is very good." For the most part students were well behaved, attentive, and concentrated in their work. Teachers maintained order but allowed a lot of student interaction. Blanca, for example, was a very strict teacher who addressed her students in a firm but sweet manner and constantly used terms of endearment in Spanish.

Staff

The core staff of the program were the teachers and a work-study student from the college. Additional assistance was provided by local institutions and colleges. There were five teachers in the program. All of them were veterans of the BPS, having worked in the system between 10 and 19 years. Four of them were in the bilingual program and one was in the special education program at EHS. All the bilingual teachers spoke Spanish. Students liked the fact that the majority of the teachers were bilingual. In addition to teaching, the teachers shared some programmatic responsibilities. Lisa was American born and certified in ESL and Spanish. She taught Humanities, Earth Science, Science Projects, and Computers. She was the only teacher who did not have an Advisory. She managed the office for two periods a day. As the head teacher, she was responsible for student attendance and all other communication with EHS, she coordinated the writing of proposals, and she secured resources from the community and the college. Blanca, a Cuban bilingual teacher, was certified in Math for bilingual and regular education. She taught Algebra 1 and 2, Geometry, and Spanish for native speakers. She was also in charge of securing outside speakers for the Town Meetings. Claudia, an American born teacher, was certified both as a Spanish bilingual teacher and as a Spanish as a Modern Language teacher. She taught Spanish as a Second Language, Theater, World History, Biology, and Health. Anne, an American born teacher with extensive experience working in Africa (Zaire, Zambia, and Zimbabwe), was certified in ESL, English, Spanish, French, and Social Studies. She taught ESL, two Humanities sections, and during Advisory did a variety of units including African-American history, a curriculum for cross-cultural understanding, and a Career Education unit. She was also in charge of the office one period a day and was responsible for contacting parents of students who were absent. Jean, an African-American teacher, was certified in Special Education, Math, Science, and Physical Education. She taught Consumer Math, Humanities, Literature, and Health. She covered the office one period a day and was in charge of communications with the parents of special education students.

The most noticeable characteristic among the teachers is how well they knew all the students and how much they cared for them. They were demanding and expected a lot from the students. To help students meet these demands, several of the teachers offered between 30 to 60 minutes extra help either before or after school, or during lunch break. They were concerned about how students of such cultural variety would get along. They dealt openly and objectively with cross-cultural conflicts. Even if the conflicts were not fully resolved at least the students became aware and respectful of the different life-styles and values of their peers. Teachers also helped students in personal matters, such as communication with the phone and gas companies.

The teachers were highly motivated and resourceful. They worked beyond their normal teaching load for no additional pay. They often met to discuss the program, prepare proposals for grants, work on curriculum, and plan other activities to benefit the program. They were not discouraged by lack of resources, and they looked for help to RCC, EHS, and the greater community. The greatest problem for the teaching staff was created when the science position was cut.

A number of the local universities sent student teachers to work at the school. They also assisted in other ways: teaching science, helping with the organization of the school and the Town Meetings, providing tutoring services, serving in the Advisory Board, and evaluating the program. The John Hancock Insurance Company sent four employees to tutor the students in math and English. All the staff and students were very open and willing to work with outsiders. The presence of student-teachers and other college students and tutors allowed for more individual attention to the students in the program. The teachers felt that it was helpful to students but that it needed better coordination with the classroom activities.

The Students and Their Perceptions of the Program

The program started with 83 students. After some initial attrition, 72 students remained in the program for the rest of the year. The largest percentage of the students (44%) was in 10th grade, followed by 24% in 11th grade, 17% in 12th grade and only 15% in ninth grade.

Of the 72 students who attended the program, 34 were Spanish-speaking, 21 came from Africa; 11 were African-American, and one was a white American. Of the other 5, two came from Haiti, one from St.Vincent, one from Barbados, and one from Jamaica . A few of the Spanish-speakers had been born in the United States, the rest came from Puerto Rico, and 13 other countries in the Caribbean, and Central and South American. Their length of residence ranged from 7 months to 10 years. Most of the Spanish-speaking students had high fluency in Spanish, although 25% rated themselves as having an average fluency in the language. Eight percent of the students rated their English language skills as high, 56% as average and 36% as low. Some students had a third language such as French or Portuguese. Several of these students were identified as special education students. Most of the African students had been in this country for less than two years. They spoke Tigrinya, Arabic, Swahili, Amharic, Somali, Wolof, and Cape Verdean as a mother tongue. Except for one Swahili-speaker who had lived in the United States for 11 years, they all rated their native language ability as high. Their English ability ranged from low through high. Many knew a third language, mainly Arabic. The African-American students had been born in Boston, New York or New Jersey. Except for one, who knew Spanish upon entering the pro-

gram, the rest were studying it for the first time. Two students had studied French. Several of these students were in the Special Education program. They transferred to the MMCHS with their special education teacher. Of the other Caribbean students, three spoke English as a native language while the other two spoke Haitian Creole. Some of the Caribbean students as well as the white American were taking Spanish.

Fifty-three percent of the students (25 Spanish-speakers and 13 others) were eligible for Transitional Bilingual Education due to their limited knowledge of English. Twenty-three of them were classified as Lau Step 1, 9 as Step 2 and 6 as Step 3. According to the BPS Lau Plan, students who are in either Step 1 or 2 need to receive most of their instruction in their native language due to their limited proficiency in English. Only those in Step 3 receive most of the instruction in English with some ESL support.

Students freely used their native languages at any time. As Mariana said "Whatever language comes out, that's what I speak." They were comfortable enough in this environment to behave in ways that were culturally appropriate for them. Town Meetings were a prime opportunity for Spanish-speaking students to socialize and talk to their teachers individually, while the African students sat quietly studying. Their dress and behavior also reflected their own culture. The African students were quite restrained and dressed conservatively. Most of the Muslim girls wore the long traditional dresses and covered their hair with a scarf. On the other hand, the African-American and Spanish-speaking students appeared bolder in their dress, speech, and body movement.

Students worked together helping each other in class, during breaks, and after school. They often grouped themselves by ethnic affiliation. The African students also grouped themselves by sex. The teachers rearranged groups in class to get the students to mix more but were mindful of students' cultural preferences. For example, Muslim girls preferred grouping with females unless the male was a family member. One teacher commented on this habit of gathering by ethnic group. The students took exception and claimed that they were always mixing. The teacher immediately commissioned a study of the sitting arrangements during Town Meetings. Through this study students realized that the right side of the auditorium was mostly occupied by Spanish-speakers, while the rest of the students huddled in their own ethnic groups on the left. Results of the study were discussed during the following Town Meeting. The reason students sat within their ethnic group was often to be able to discuss class content and homework in their native language.

A number of reasons motivated these students to join the program. Many liked the particular structure of the program -- being at a college, with no bells or guards in the corridors asking for passes. The general feeling of safety, following the lead of friends, and the philosophy of the program were additional reasons for

joining the program. Other students said that they had applied because their parents felt they would be more closely supervised than they would have been in a traditional high school.

For the most part, students appeared happy, enthusiastic, and engaged in the program activities. It was rare to see a student sullen or withdrawn. Attendance was high at 93.6% (95.9% for 9th graders). It was not uncommon to find a full auditorium half an hour before the Town Meeting was schedule to begin at 8 o'clock in the morning. Many students stayed after hours to get extra help.

The students were for the most part pleased to be in the program. A number of seniors commented on how this program emphasized education and preparation for the future, "MMCHS made me feel that I was there to get an education not just points to graduate" (Y.M.'s letter, May 16, 1994). They felt they had improved their English and their research skills. They felt that the program forced them to work hard, develop a sense of responsibility, and "stay away from trouble" (R.M.'s letter, 5/8/94). The African students in particular felt privileged to have the opportunity to go to high school and did not want to waste it. On their own they found out about a tutoring program at RCC and attended every afternoon --even during their vacations.

Students commented that knowing that their teachers cared about them motivated them to work hard. They felt that the teachers trusted their ability to learn. They liked to be treated as responsible young adults. For example, students went unsupervised to EHS for activities. They biked or used the subway on their own. There were never problems with students skipping the class or activity.

Students felt proud to be in a college environment. They particularly liked the fact that they felt safe walking down the corridors of the college. They liked knowing everybody in the program. Spanish-speakers appreciated the opportunity to meet other students from around the world and learn about their cultures. A recent arrival to the Boston enjoyed the field trips because they gave her the opportunity to discover the city's cultural institutions.

The program had some limitations that caused problems for certain students. Of the 83 students who started in the program, two dropped out of school, three took maternity leave, two left the state, and four returned to EHS. The teachers considered the all female staff to be a drawback for some male students. The limited access to counselors and the total integration of special education was unhelpful for certain students. One special education student went back to EHS where she had access to a resource room which she felt was better suited to provide for her particular needs. Some students did not like the challenges presented by the program and left shortly after it started. They had enrolled because of friends, without knowing much about the program, or because their parents had insisted on it.

Despite the generally positive attitude towards the program and their

teachers, there were some sources of frustration for the students who remained. Many students were constantly concerned and confused about requirements to complete high school and to enter college. While some seniors were pleased with the way the curriculum fulfilled the requirements for their college aspirations, others would like to see more variety in the offerings.

Although the majority of the students liked the high standards and demands of the program, they felt overwhelmed by the quantity of material covered and the amount of homework. They were not sure how to manage adequately these demands. There was disagreement about discipline. Some felt the teachers were too strict; others, felt they were not strict enough. Several students found it inconvenient not to have access to a gym at the college.

Another source of contention was assistance provided in the native language. Some of the students who did not speak Spanish politely resented the help in Spanish that their classmates were getting from their teacher. They thought it was acceptable for Spanish-speaking students to speak Spanish among themselves, but they disapproved of the teachers and students using Spanish for instruction and clarification. A few fully bilingual students disliked helping their colleagues who still had difficulty in English. They claimed that assistance in the native language would hinder English language learning.

The African students felt at a disadvantage over the Spanish-speaking students because there was no teacher or student-teacher who could speak their language. Although they liked instruction in English because they wanted to learn the language, they felt that some explanations in their native language would have helped them. Moreover, they felt that their ability to express themselves well in their native languages would have increased their class participation. The same students felt that they were better off at this program than they had been in previous school experiences because they received more help from the teachers when they were having trouble comprehending material. "Here I get extra help at lunch time. I learn more here," commented one of the students.

African-American students felt somewhat invisible in this highly multilingual environment. Jean and Blanca agreed with these students. They felt that the African-American culture was not incorporated and valued enough in the program. Claudia pondered, "I wonder how much we have encouraged the Afro-Americans to really, you know, communicate and integrate with others. I don't think we've done it." Blanca felt that the African-American students' objection to her using Spanish in class was in part a reaction to feeling neglected themselves.

Connections with the family

There were four parent meetings scheduled for the year, but the program had a completely open door policy for parents. Parents often called or stopped by

to talk to the teachers. The teachers felt that they saw the parents in school with more frequency than in their earlier experiences at BPS. The parents of the African students rarely came, they sent instead an older sibling to talk to the teachers. These parents, however, came to a School Committee meeting when the survival of the program was being discussed. Communication with parents was sometimes complicated by the number of native languages spoken. All written communication was translated to Spanish for Spanish-speaking parents and into Arabic for African families. Although Arabic was not their native language, many could read it better than English. Most parents were satisfied with and had high hopes for the program. Several of the parents were principally responsible for having their children enrolled in the program. One parent was impressed by the fact that "my son comes home and talks about his day in school more than before."(Letter, November 5, 1993). Another parent appreciated the high standards of the school, the opportunity to become familiar with many cultures, and the support the teachers provided for her son (Letter, April 20, 94). At the same time, the parents were concerned with the stability of the program and the breadth of the curriculum. They were unsure whether the program was offering all the courses their children needed for graduation or for college entrance. Some parents would like to see ways in which they could profit from the program to improve their own education. One father suggested that parents be allowed to attend classes once or twice a month.

Program Quality

The data from observations, interviews, and documents was scrutinized to establish the degree to which each condition for quality bilingual education had been fulfilled (See Table 2). Although many conditions were present to a large extent, there were nuances that complicated the results. Many school climate and organization conditions were fully present when considering just the MMCHS program, but not when considering the context of the two parent institutions, EHS and RCC. For example, there was a difference with respect to integration. The bilingual program students were totally integrated with other students, but the whole MMCHS program was loosely integrated with EHS and RCC. Another differentiation was what the program could offer Spanish-speakers as opposed to what it could offer other bilingual students. For example, content-area classes were for the most part taught bilingually as far as Spanish bilingual students were concerned. The same was not true for the other bilingual students.

CONDITIONS	Fulfilled	Unfulfilled
School climate and organization		
The school should foster positive attitudes towards the native languages and cultures of the bilingual students.	X	
The school should help bilingual students develop a positive attitude towards English and the American culture.	X	
All staff should know the students.	X	
All staff should have high expectations of the bilingual students.	X	
All staff should have the preparation to teach bilingual students.	X	
The school administration and staff should provide leadership and support for the bilingual program and staff.	X	
The bilingual program should be an integral part of the school[(a) MMCHS; (b) ESH; RCC.	(a)X	(b)X
The program should have a productive relationship with the parents and communities of the bilingual students.	X	
Curriculum content and delivery		
All students should participate in a comprehensive & quality curriculum.	X	
The curriculum should be cross-cultural.	X	
The curriculum should be bilingual. Thus:		
- literacy in native languages should be fully developed,		X
- native languages should be used for teaching academic content,	X	
- second language should be taught in the context of language, literacy and content area, and	X	
- native languages should be used for an extended number of years.	not applicable	
Instructional Strategies		
Both languages should be taught with appropriate language teaching techniques.	X	
Content area should be taught with appropriate teaching techniques.	X	
The teacher's instructional strategies, management style and classroom organization should be cross-cultural.	X	

TABLE 2: *Status of the conditions at MMCHS*

In general, the program characteristics tilted to the fulfilled side of the scale. There were, however, serious weaknesses with respect to integration with the two parent institutions and native language development and use for instruction.

School climate and organization

This program had created a remarkably safe and caring environment for learning, respectful of the languages and cultures of the students involved. Kleinfeld (1979), who studied a successful high school for Eskimo students, considers that a school for linguistic minority students should be "a protected place where little could happen to tear them [the students] down (p. 139)." Most of the conditions for creating a good school environment were present at the MMCHS. Following is a description of how each condition was met and what the lingering problems were.

• *The school should foster positive attitudes towards the native languages and cultures of the bilingual students.*

Acceptance of students' language and culture was the motto of the program. Students used their native languages freely in formal and informal settings. Most proficient bilingual students found it natural to help their less proficient colleagues by explaining things in the native language. Teachers naturally code-switched to Spanish when clarifying or responding to Spanish-speaking students. Fostering a positive attitude towards the native language of the students has effects on students' academic achievement as well as on second language learning (Gardner & Lambert, 1972; Schumann, 1978). The various cultures of the program were nourished by accepting students' ideas in class, by inclusion in the curriculum, by inviting speakers of those cultures to address the students, by openly addressing cultural conflicts, and by promoting Spanish learning among English-speakers. A positive attitude towards the culture of the students develops trust towards the educational system. According to Ruiz (1993), if students see that the school -- an institution representing the dominant society -- respects their culture and background they will be more willing to advance within the system. If that trust is lacking these students would more likely abandon traditional forms of advancement -- especially education.

Because the Spanish-speakers comprised almost half of the student body and because four of the teachers also spoke Spanish, these students were better off culturally and linguistically, despite teachers' efforts to be fair to all. This situation gave raise to some objections on the part of non-Spanish speaking students. This resistance to native language use was also found among some of bilingual students who had been in the United States for a long time. According to Commins (1989), students often reject the use of their native language in school as a result of what they perceive to be acceptable in the larger society. Although cultural and linguistic problems had not been fully solved, the program took steps in the right direction, consistent with Nieto's (1992) suggestions, by openly discussing these problems, and by having mixed ethnic groups working coopera-

tively in class.

• *The school should help bilingual students develop a positive attitude towards English and the American culture.*

Students were motivated to learn and use English. The lack of rejection of the students native language helped foster a positive attitude towards English. Students did not feel that English was imposed on them over their own language, so they were willing to learn it. They also realized the importance of learning English to get ahead. Although African students did not have a negative attitude towards American culture they had some problems understanding why some things were done in school. They could not see the value of Town Meetings and Committee meetings in the context of high school. They were also defensive in general of their identity in the context of American culture. For example, the Muslim girls told us that they had never worn the typical Muslim scarf over their heads before coming to the United States. They wanted to be identified as Muslims.

Another wrinkle in the cultural mosaic was the place of African-Americans. Some of them felt that the program was more favorable to Hispanic and African cultures. Although they are representatives of mainstream students in this program, they are not necessarily representatives of mainstream American culture. In the context of this very tolerant and respectful community, they were not marginalized -- but it was apparent that they were not clear as to how they were seen by the rest of the students and teachers.

For the bilingual students in particular, the program succeeded in getting students to value their own culture and respect the host culture. This helped prevent bicultural ambivalence which is defined as hostility towards the majority culture coupled with insecurity towards one's own culture. Such ambivalence is a common phenomenon among bilingual students, with devastating effects on school work (Cummins, 1984).

• *All staff should know the students.*

Teachers knew and cared for their students. The size and organization of the program allowed teachers and students to be in frequent and close contact with each other. Town meetings, advisories, and the fact that teachers managed the program and together discussed students allowed them to become acquainted with all the students in the program. The teachers knew all students by name. Knowledge of the students and personalization of the teaching is considered a key factor in teachers' ability to teach their students (Sizer, 1984; Graves, 1983). The students appreciated not being invisible and considered their experience very different from that of their previous high schools.

The MMCHS successfully established a community where all members were respected and treated equally. Not only elementary school students, but stu-

dents of all ages need to feel that their school is a community that cares for them, treats them as individuals, and wants them to succeed (McPartland and Braddock, 1993).

• *All staff should have high expectations of the bilingual students.*

In addition to providing demanding classes and assignments, teachers demonstrated their high expectations by: organizing students in heterogeneous groupings regardless of grade or English language ability; using an analytical approach to teaching which required an active participation in class; and encouraging seniors to take college courses. Through teachers' extra help and tutoring services, the program gave students a fair chance to succeed regardless of language ability or educational background. Having high expectations of students and providing opportunities for success are the keys to making education possible and attractive to bilingual students (McPartland & Braddock, 1993; Mace-Matluck, 1990).

Another important characteristic of this program is that teachers' expectations were never lowered because of limited English proficiency. The students were valued as bilingual individuals who could function fully in other languages. It is often the case in unsuccessful programs that expectations are lowered for bilingual students who are not fully proficient in English, which tracks students in less demanding curricula (Minicucci & Olsen, 1992; Wong-Fillmore, 1989).

• *All staff should have the preparation to teach bilingual students.*

Collectively, the five teachers were prepared to work with all of the students in the program. They fulfilled the characteristics of good teachers outlined by Lucas (1993a), which included that teachers must be: knowledgeable about various aspects of education of bilingual students; fluent in students native language; show commitment to the program and to the students; actively promote the program and services for bilingual students; use good instructional strategies; and give extra time and energy to the program and students. Individually, however, their skills suited some students better than others. Four of the teachers were best prepared to teach Spanish-bilingual students. They knew the language and the culture and had had preparation and experience in working with this type of student. Two of them had also had experience teaching ESL to different ethnic groups. One of them had lived in Africa, but not necessarily in any of the countries of the students in the program. The African-American teacher had no preparation for work with bilingual students; at the same time, she was the only teacher with extensive experience working with African-American students. Those who came from outside the program had different levels of preparation for work with bilingual students. Some student teachers were pursuing graduate bilingual or ESL degrees, while other graduate students and substitute teachers had no sensitivity

to or useful strategies for working with bilingual students in English.

No training was provided for teachers in the program or for the community volunteers. Castañeda (1993) found that staff development helps teachers change their views of bilingual students.

• *The school administration and staff should provide leadership and support for the bilingual program and staff.*

This condition was achieved within the core of the program. The success was more limited with respect to administration and staff of the two parent institutions and the central administration of the public schools. The head teacher was constantly concerned with the well being of the program and showed great strength and leadership and carrying ahead the task of setting up a fully integrated bilingual program. She appealed to the entire community for help, and succeeded in obtaining much collaboration. She also made an effort to involve all the teachers in the running of the school. Promoting teacher collaboration and shared decision-making among faculty and administrators are some of the key characteristics in effective high school programs (Lucas, 1993a).

Except for the assistance the Headmaster at EHS provided in dealing with the public school bureaucracy, the program received limited support from the administrators and staff at EHS and RCC. No support was provided by the district Bilingual Education director. Her stand towards the program stemmed from the opposition to its existence as it had developed. She also felt the program violated some of the requirements of the city's bilingual education plan. All studies on effective schools point at the importance of leadership. Lucas (1993b) found this to be a rather complicated and multidimensional phenomenon. She found that support from the principal was essential to create acceptance for bilingual education within the whole school and community. In addition, the district and school bilingual directors played a key role as "the driving forces behind successful programs (Lucas, 1993b, p.137)." Thus, MMCHS had strong leadership within the immediate program, but limited or no leadership support at other levels.

• *The bilingual program should be an integral part of the school.*

Bilingual and mainstream students were totally integrated in this program. Integration of bilingual education to the school is essential for the development of positive attitudes towards languages and cultures and for the development of bilingualism (Brisk, 1991). Moreover, "there is considerable evidence that daily contact between minority language children and their majority-language peers is crucial to the success of any bilingual programme (McLaughlin, 1986, p. 35)."

One unique aspect of this program is that it integrated students with different language backgrounds. Because bilingual students are grouped for instruc-

tion by their native language, they usually have little exposure to multiple languages and cultures. The multilingual and multicultural nature of MMCHS was valued by all students. This integration, however, came at the cost of instruction in the native language. Because of the variety of native languages and the limitations in the personnel, it was difficult to integrate students and offer a variety of courses in their native languages at the same time. It is possible and desirable to integrate students, maintaining bilingual instruction (Brisk, 1991; Brisk, 1994).

Although an integrated program, MMCHS was not fully integrated with the institutions to which it was connected. The program was run as a self-sufficient unit with limited affiliation with EHS and RCC. Ties with those institutions existed but only at the individual, rather than institutional, level.

• *The program should foster a productive relationship with parents and communities of the bilingual students.*

Families were involved to some degree with the program. Parents and older siblings felt free to come to the school and communicate to the teachers their satisfaction or concerns. They were enthusiastic about the program because it provided something special for their children. Teachers always contacted the families when students were absent. Communication with the families helps students feel enthusiastic about their education and helps teachers understand better the culture of the home (Ruiz, 1993). Spanish-and English-speaking parents were at a greater advantage because they could communicate with most of the teachers in their native language. For that reason, African parents usually sent their older children who had already mastered English. The teachers made an effort to translate written communications into both Spanish and Arabic. Language is crucial to school access for the families (Bayley, 1993).

There were still some concerns on the part of the parents. They did not seem cognizant of the philosophy behind the curriculum content and organization, which aimed to have fewer courses, each of which would explore knowledge in more depth than a traditional course would. They were afraid that the limitation in course offerings would jeopardize their children's future educational plans.

The program did not develop a strong relationship with the communities of the students. Informal participation in community activities, for example, is an effective way to strengthen the school-community ties (Garcia, 1991). Progressive schools are expanding the services provided to students and their families (Canales and Ruiz-Escalante, 1993). The potential for MMCHS to develop programs in coordination with RCC to serve the whole family is latent. One parent specifically expressed his desire to improve his own education by getting involved with the program.

Curriculum Content and Delivery

• *All students should participate in a comprehensive & quality curriculum.*

All offerings were accessible to all students regardless of ability and language background. In order to make class content accessible, teachers successfully implemented a number of strategies to allow full student participation. In addition to their academic subjects, bilingual students at the MMCHS had access to extracurricular activities and support services such as tutoring and counseling. Although most high schools offer great variety in course offerings, extracurricular activities, and support services, these are not always open to bilingual students (Minicucci and Olsen, 1992). Thus the MMCHS joins a small number effective programs that give equal access to bilingual learners.

The curriculum featured a number of current trends in quality education. It covered the different disciplines well but adhered to the principle of the Coalition of Essential Schools that "[l]ess is more (Sizer, 1984, p.226)." The focus is on depth of knowledge and process, rather than on amount of facts and variety of courses. "Curricular decisions should be guided by the aim of student mastery and achievement rather than by an effort to 'cover content' (Sizer, 1984, p. 226)." In addition, there was an effort made to relate disciplines, to integrate content and language instruction, and to have students learn by working on projects. Helping students connect the various subjects is considered an essential aspect of good education. This style is particularly helpful for students who are learning in their second language, because keeping a thread across disciplines makes the content more comprehensible. In many MMCHS classes, students learned the subject by carrying out projects. These projects were often related to the community and to the real life of the students. Meaningful projects provide students with intrinsic motivation to learn (Cummins, 1984). Projects also help to coordinate subjects and skills.

One problem with the delivery of the curriculum which hindered its quality was the brevity of the class periods. Although the number of periods a day was reduced to five, and each period was lengthened by 10 minutes from the standard high school class period, they were still too short to avoid completely "wasteful rush over 'knowledge' (Sizer, 1984, p. 223)." Longer blocks of time for integrated subjects characterized curriculum organization of successful high schools for linguistic minority students (Lucas, 1993a).

• *The curriculum should be cross-cultural.*

The curriculum was bicultural because it incorporated the students' cultures and because it taught bilingual students the host culture. Students' voices

were constantly heard in the context of discussing content of the subject matter, permitting the sharing of all cultural values. The themes planned for classes also incorporated the various cultures present. Outside speakers represented the students cultures. The American culture was taught in subtle ways. Structures, such as the Town Meetings and Committee meetings, provided hands-on experience in American decision-making processes. The way classes were conducted enabled students and teachers to discuss their own views on issues. This represents an analytical approach to learning, much valued in American culture (Ballard & Clancy, 1991). The inclusion of the various cultures involved in the program was on-going as opposed to the typical African-American History month or Puerto Rican week found in most school systems. This approach to cultural inclusion is strongly supported by Nieto (1992), but it needs to be made more clear to both students and faculty. African-American students and teacher were upset that the program did not make a particular point of celebrating African-American History month.

In general, the program was successful in creating a bicultural learning environment. Bilingual students greatly benefit from such an experience not only because it makes the learning more meaningful but also because it makes them capable of functioning both in their local community and the larger community (Kleinfeld, 1979).

• *The curriculum should be bilingual. Thus: literacy in native languages should be fully developed; native languages should be used for teaching academic content; second language should be taught in the context of language, literacy, and content area; and native languages should be used for an extended number of years.*

The least developed component of the program was the formal use of the bilingual students' native language to improve language and literacy and to teach subject matter. Only one class concentrated on the development of native language and literacy. This was done in Spanish and involved only a little more than half of the Spanish-speakers in the program. There were no content classes formally taught in any native language. Native languages, however, were constantly used by students and teachers under many circumstances. Students, for example, used their native language to assist one another, to tutor other students informally, to ask and answer questions, and to interact socially. Students had access to bilingual dictionaries in English/Spanish and English/Arabic. Teachers used Spanish to check comprehension, to explain activities, to provide instruction, and to interact socially. Because the only native language known by the teachers was Spanish, it was the only one used to facilitate learning content. Many programs which use native languages in the various ways practiced at MMCHS have proven most effective in the education of linguistic minority students (Lucas, 1993a). How-

ever, most research in successful bilingual education programs underscores the value of offering content courses in the native language in order to give "students the opportunity to progress through the content areas while developing their English skills (Lucas, Hense & Donato, 1990 p. 323)." Although students in this program were not deprived of taking content area instruction because it was in English, it was very difficult for some of the students, especially for those who did not speak Spanish. Spanish-speakers had the benefit that most of the teachers could code-switch to Spanish as needed.

The program was successful in developing second languages, especially English. The intensive use of English through content areas with four teachers who were experienced in teaching second language learners provided a prime context for learning academic English. The practice of teaching academic language through the content areas is strongly supported by the research on second language development (Chamot, 1993). The only problem was that these classes did not have explicit language goals, although the teachers' experience allowed most of them to teach language and content simultaneously.

Because the program had been in operation for only a year, it was not possible to check the number of years that native languages would be used. However, given the structure of the program, the use of native languages did not diminish with increased ability in English. Therefore, it is safe to estimate that if the program continues as it is, the philosophy of acceptance of native language use regardless of English-language proficiency will continue throughout the schooling of each student.

Although not fully bilingual at the language instruction level, this program is fully bilingual in the sense that the bilingualism of students is recognized and accepted as the norm.

Instructional Strategies

• *Both languages should be taught with appropriate language teaching techniques.*

• *Content area should be taught with appropriate teaching techniques.*

All good instructional practices cited by Lucas (1993a) in her review of effective high school bilingual programs were present in the classes at the MM-CHS. In both language and content classes a variety of media such as books, role plays, experiments, films, and field trips were used to facilitate comprehension. Students were encouraged to use their native languages to help each other understand the content of the classes. Several teachers had been trained in Sheltered English, which directs teachers to modify their language to make content compre-

hensible to second language learners. Classes were interactive, encouraging a lot of student participation. Through this interaction teachers helped students think and understand the content under discussion. Student-teachers and tutors from the community helped the teachers meet the individual instructional needs of each student in the program. Students often engaged in cooperative groups to solve problems and worked on group projects. Teachers praised students often and gave them explicit reasons why their work was good.

Good language teaching practices were featured in this program. The teachers used a holistic and functional approach to teaching languages. Speaking, listening, reading, and writing were taught together using relevant themes. Specific language problems were confronted as they arose. Students worked in heterogeneous groups practicing their languages to express knowledge. They read to look for information they needed for their papers and projects. They wrote papers, plays, journals, and other forms of authentic writing. This approach to language teaching is highly recommended by researchers and practitioners because it mirrors the way languages, either oral or written, are used in the real world (Edelsky, 1986). To a great degree, English facility was developed through the content areas. This is a highly recommended practice (Wong Fillmore, 1989).

• *The teacher's instructional strategies, management style and classroom organization should be cross-cultural.*

Classroom strategies particularly reflected aspects of both the American and the Spanish culture. On one hand, teachers were open and egalitarian, and on the other hand, some teachers used diminutives and other expressions of affection typical of interaction among Latinos. One of the teachers had extended experience teaching in Africa; this was extremely helpful in her own teaching and also helped the other teachers. For example, the tendency of the Muslim girls to form cooperative groups was respected. Vogt, Jordan & Tharp (1987) found something comparable among Navajos. Single sex cooperative groups functioned better because Navajo culture discourages boys and girls from working together. Although not all teachers were familiar with all student cultures, no student felt particularly uncomfortable or limited by cultural barriers.

In addition, teachers treated these students like young adults, affording them freedom and a sense of responsibility. Saravia-Shore & Martínez (1992) report that one of the reasons why high school Puerto Rican students dropped out of school was their annoyance at being treated like children in school, at home they took on the responsibilities of adults. Thus, it is essential that classrooms become bicultural societies where students' ways of interacting are respected, where students are exposed to the cultural patterns of behavior of the host society, and where bilingual students' level of maturity is appreciated (Trueba & Wright, 1992).

Moving Towards a Full Quality Bilingual Education Program

The program needs to focus on two areas in order to address the most critical problems: (a) relationships with the two parent institutions, and (b) developing a more coherent curriculum that includes instruction in native languages. Closer ties with the college could help in enriching the curriculum offerings including content and language courses in Spanish which are offered by RCC. EHS should formally recognize this program as an alternative for students who might thrive in that environment. They should not be seen as outsiders but as an integral part of what the high school offers.

The program should include offerings in Spanish to serve the students who need them. These courses could also be an option for students with high English proficiency who want to become educated bilingual and biliterate people. Scheduling difficulties could be overcome by offering different content area courses in different semesters, and by teaching Spanish language and literacy through content.

It is difficult to offer the same options to the other bilingual students given the number of different languages and the limited number of speakers of each language. The program should consider including native speakers of some of those languages in some of the tutoring programs. The program should secure the support from the district's Bilingual Education Department in their efforts to make the program more bilingual.

In addition to the two major areas of change, work on other aspects could improve the program even further. Curriculum coordination needs to be extended to all the core offerings, and language goals need to be added to content goals. This integration of subjects would allow longer class periods. The staff needs assistance and planning time to fully develop a coherent curriculum with all the characteristics that they envision. They must, concurrently, inform their constituents about the nature of the curriculum. Parents and students need to understand the value of integration of disciplines, and the advantages of having fewer subjects studied in depth. Their fears of not fulfilling public school requirements need to be allayed.

Although the program has been successful in communicating to the parents of the students and in welcoming them into the school, it still needs to extend its involvement with the communities and families outside the walls of the school.

Another problem which is not directly related to the quality of bilingual education, but rather to the general atmosphere of the school is the place of African-Americans in the school and curriculum. As monolingual individuals they need to be valued in this very bilingual environment.

I believe that this program has the basis, the staff, and the will to push those "Xs" on Table 2 all the way to the "fulfilled" end of the continuum. The

MMCHS could become a model of education and a model of bilingualism.

Conclusion

Traditional evaluations of bilingual education programs have defined programs in terms of which model of bilingual education they follow. They have looked at students' outcomes, mainly in English reading and math. Models concentrate mostly on which languages are used for instruction, but give very little direction on how the school should be organized or on the nature of the instruction. Assessment of students is important but only in the context of good schooling can we fairly evaluate students' academic performances. The framework of the conditions for quality bilingual education focuses on the many aspects of schooling that are beyond language, and looks at the school's input rather than at the students' outputs. This approach to evaluation of a bilingual program allowed for the specific identification of good features and the location of problems in the program observed. Because the conditions focus on characteristics of the different components of a program, it provides a thorough but flexible model of evaluation. Had the MMCHS been looked at with the simple criteria of language instruction or adherence to an established model of bilingual education, it would have failed the test. The program could have been easily dismissed for not being a bilingual program as the traditional models recommend. Using the scrutiny of the conditions, which adds an extensive focus on characteristics of good education, the results were more positive. There was a strong basis of quality education in the program which could be transformed into quality bilingual education by implementing the recommendations suggested.

The mission of schools is to educate students so that they have choices when they graduate. The preparation of bilingual students has to go beyond learning English and their native language. The world of work demands that graduates achieve not only high level literacy skills in English, and even knowledge of other languages, but also analytic ability, and an ability to learn new things. Bilingual students have not only the potential but also the right to be prepared to reach the challenges of modern society.

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